/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his [245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees, [439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on [464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services. [233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He re- 115 124 garded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

/108 cont./

115 156 554 [598] Victoriano likes to parade his outward standing of higher culture openly. He possesses soap, a toothbrush, a small brush for grooming his eyebrows, and perfume. He uses all these toilet articles very frequently. He is not afraid of the jealousy of his Calderun fellow-villagers; he always carries his machete /see the glossary, p. 249/ with him in order to defend himself. He wants to marry a "white" woman outside of Calderas (cf. also "The Course of a Day" /see p. 133 /).

● 124 286 386 /109/ In the work an attempt was made as a matter of principle to observe all the activities of the Paez ourselves; when this was not feasible, two different informants were questioned if possible. Two examples will show, however, that errors can creep in, even with the most careful work: I had the dyeing process for the black-dyed fabrics explained to me by the interpreter Marcos, according to whom they are first boiled with certain leaves, and then all of this is placed in black humus earth for two days. When the same question was put to Victoriano, he stated that the black coloring occurs if the fabric is placed in black humus earth for two days. At my suggestion that the fabric first had to be boiled with leaves, he delightedly agreed with me. When called to account as to why he had not told me that, he replied: "Well, you did not ask me about that; you only wanted to know how the material becomes black!"

124 423 One cannot speak sufficiently often and again and again in different ways about the same subject, for to the Paez the necessity or the meaning of explanations for things self-evident to them is usually incomprehensible. Thus in the case described there was as little ill-intent or even mere carelessness as in the following case: In roaming over boundary lines, I inquired as to which fields were private property and which were community property. We came to the general conclusion that the lowlands were community property and the mountain slopes the private property of the man or family who had first cleared the land. I asked Victoriano several times as to whether there were any pieces of land that at present had no owner. He stated emphatically that all the land had been disposed of and there was no longer any ownerless land.

/109 cont./

124 423 One day, at the sight of a freshly cleared field on the highest mountain slopes, I asked a Paez working there to whom this land belonged and whether the person concerned had always owned it. He answered that he himself was the owner and that previously the parcel had been ownerless. He said that he had cleared it for himself and only recently built his house here in order to live here. In answer to my question as to whether there was any more ownerless land, he explained to me that the highest and inaccessible mountain peaks which are still covered with big trees and have never been cleared do not belong to anyone and that any Paez could clear a piece on them, which would then become his property. Later I called Victoriano to task, saying that actually there still was ownerless land. "Yes," he then answered me, "of course there is still ownerless land, but it is so poor that it has no value."

157 [123] [522] Far from their village, on the way to market, and generally in /110/ places away from home, the Paez, if they are alone or in the minority, are timid and reserved. If they are together in large numbers, however, or, even better, in their own house, they are usually quite bold and impudent and loudly made their jokes at our expense. Indeed, jocularity is a prominent characteristic of the Paez. No talk, no conversation, be it ever so unimportant, is begun without joking -- often of an erotic nature. The importance of conducting such a light, idle conversation is shown by the fact that serious-minded girls are scarcely ever married.

157 521 522 [834] They made fun of my wife in particular, for they found it altogether ugly that she wore long pants. Numerous jokes were made about this, which we, of course, did not understand, and for this reason we, in turn, had to take the initiative by making a joke which was then acknowledged gratefully and usually with quick-wittedness. On the whole, respect toward strangers inside their dwelling is unknown to them. In larger groups they make their asides even in a strange environment, accompanied by much laughter. Since one does not understand them, one easily gets the impression that they are silly. In their own houses they also mimic the visiting mission priest by repeating

123 522 157 609 522 159 [797]

Among the Paez, fishing with

/145 cont./

226 824 poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yūkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

411 [726] [524] The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's playthings there are the stone-sling (ſsot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (kaučéro).

[824] [714] [237] [124] [175] In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use 714 of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

In general
842 /184 cont./every girl desires a great
[581] many children, for this is the chief requirement for being married.
Moreover, the percentage of barren women -- in childless marriages,
[162] they say, the fault is always the woman's -- is not small. Accord-
ing to inquiries, it comes to about 10 per cent. Men generally
want boys; the women, girls, in order to have help in the house-
845 hold. Twin births are rare, but they are not regarded as anything
special; rather, people are happy about them as they are about
other children. Deformities at birth are said not to occur; how-
ever, I saw several persons with cleft palates. They seem to be
ashamed of this, for in conversations with us they always held
947 their hands over their mouths. Infanticide does not occur. To
123 inquiries about this, there was always the completely horrified
counterquestion as to whether that was the case in my country.
165 Overpopulation is not to be feared, even with a larger number
[163] of children -- the average is three to four living children per
family -- since infant mortality comes to more than 50 per cent.
[164] Whooping cough is the most frequent cause of death among small
children.

a) Birth and Childhood

843 The parents' concern for the child begins even before birth.
The husband of a pregnant woman expecting her first child must
sleep with her very frequently, for otherwise the child would be
very weak. In the case of subsequent children this is no longer
[783] required so often after the beginning of pregnancy. The pregnant
woman may not leave the house or eat pork for two months before
the birth, since this causes "pest" and she would have stomach
[822] pains; this would be very detrimental to the child. For the same
reason she may not eat beans and onions, and no fish because it
comes from the cold element, water, and because a pregnant
woman must not become cold.

843 According to one informant, the pregnant woman retires
343 to the menstruation hut (dúyat) two to three weeks before the
● 124 birth. During this time her mother or another female relative
cooks for the family. According to another informant, the
ooo /185/ woman does not retire to the dúyat until the birth. In any

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

● 124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakué.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhimẽta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hipt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wẽ; very little: táwala wẽha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] [797] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of ónna, "yesterday" (in context: ónnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[26] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/258 cont./

754 Afterward his throat began to dry out and he could breathe only with difficulty, until he finally died.

754 The evil shamans are not generally known publicly. Men
756 as well as women, however, may be teyu and nyic. In fact, the
[562] most famous and clever teyu whom we met was an old woman,
[753] Felisa Ipia in Santa Rosa, who at the same time, however, is re-
[623] garded as the most evil sorceress who ever existed. All the sick-
[683] ness and misfortune in Santa Rosa are ascribed to her acts. For this reason the cabildo once burned all her medicinal herbs and broke her shaman's staff. But people no longer dare to undertake anything serious against her, since they fear her, as they do all evil sorcerers. In former times the convicted nyic were always very severely punished, but since many members of the cabildo have died as a result of sorcery, no one any longer dares to accuse the well-known nyic today.

754 /259/ With regard to the problem of male and female shamans,
756 a teyu from Calderas explained that women as such had an excellent
562 sense of feeling and therefore the best talent as shamans. Since they are more crafty and cunning than men, however, the female shamans can transform themselves into an evil sorceress at any time. And that is precisely what makes them so dangerous and hence unfit for the calling of a good shaman.

754 The border between teyu and nyic, therefore, is flexible.
756 Both aspects of shamanism may be united in one person, or a teyu may become a nyic and vice versa. In the following, therefore, the teyu form of manifestation of shamanism will be described. In spirit the nyic are based on the same foundation. They never show their herbs and remedies and allow no one to take part in
● [124] their ceremonies. The teyu, on the other hand, on closer acquaintance were quite willing to give information about their knowledge and to let us take part in their séances.

/274 cont./

774 (u = nasal) and taff, with which everyone is familiar, although
776 they are not sure about the distinction between the two. The
753 shamans Francisco and Cerbeleón said that the two were the same; but both of them also said that ũns or taff, if they had left the person in his dream and were abroad, could be caught by tũs, ec̆, or nyic̆ without the person's becoming aware of this immediately, but rather he still went on living. To my objection that in this case ũns and taff were probably different, they did not know how
[775] to answer; Cerbeleón stated that if a person dies, his ũns goes to heaven and the person himself becomes taff. He and other teyu
756 were able to catch the ũns of a human being. Thus, for example,
774 if someone had been robbed, he would come to Cerbeleón. The
754 latter takes coca, tobacco, and brandy, and then he can bring forth the ũns of the thief, seize it, and kill it. The thief must
[783] then die. In order to get the ũns in his power, he must first cleanse
[824] his hands with the herbs s̆ũ and vitubĭtskwe, as well as with brandy.
[276] The ũns has the form of a small animal, he explained; it can fly and glows and is about three centimeters long. It is very similar to a firefly in appearance, but different from ec̆.

554 Having reached this point in his explanation, Cerbeleón grew
754 silent, and our interpreter Victoriano said that we should now have
756 to depart, but quickly. With that he left the house in positive
● [124] flight, and we were obliged to follow. Outside he explained to us that Cerbeleón was a "mal brujo," a nyic̆, which, to be sure, he had always suspected before, but just now Cerbeleón had given himself away inasmuch as he had said that he could catch and
[682] kill the ũns of human beings. The people of Calderas also say that he possessed herbs that he could put in eggs, chicha, or other food, whereupon people would eat them and then die. One of the sons of Cerbeleón was a thief and had died in the following manner: The one who was robbed had prayed to the Virgen Santisima /Holy Virgin/, and God had punished the thief with death. The father himself, that is, the shaman Cerbeleón, is also a thief and kills people out of envy for their possessions.

The mission sisters confirmed this statement insofar as Cerbeleón had several times attempted to kill them by sprinkling

/286 cont./
182 no new harvest may be undertaken until the teyu has first cleansed
756 of the pest the building site or the crops, respectively.

/287/ He is, however, not only the protector of the individual or the individual family, but is also responsible for the beneficial
[773] co-existence of the members of the whole village. Thus, it is not surprising that it was the shamans -- besides Thunder under his various names -- who were the war leaders in the mythical tradi-
[726] tions. Thanks to their magical gifts and strength, they successfully led their people against the Pijao and the Spaniards. Several times the elders of the various villages told us that one day Thunder will again drive the white intruders out of the Tierradentro of the
[648] Paez and kill them. And it is only logical that, as late as 1952,
[789] on the occasion of an impending attack by an armed group of white revolutionaries, the shaman of Santa Rosa, as the successor of the mythical Thunder, should spit his magic herbs on the road leading to the village, in order to destroy them. Old Felisa Ipia is behaving in a similar manner when she keeps the souls of all the village inhabitants gathered together in the threads of her shaman's staff, in order to be able to protect them better against evil, magical influences.

756 On account of these certain supernatural abilities of theirs, the
554 effects of which no one in the community can evade, the teyu
[815] have a certain unofficial authority. In addition, they are all at least 30 to 40 years old and thus, by their very age, fulfill one of the natural prerequisites for recognition by the community. Not a few of them feel honored by this, set apart from the great mass of people, but many assured me that they were shamans only unwillingly, that though they were called by their ability to receive signs, they were nevertheless oppressed by the weight of the burden of their responsibility.

756 During times of epidemics of disease or inexplicable, "super-
● 124 natural" deaths, they are the focal point of the community, to
[182] which no one appeals in vain. And in conversations with them we generally had the distinct impression of facing unselfish, helpful human beings. They make no secret of their activity, and they tried, as best they could, to tell us about their experiences and knowledge which they use for the good of the community.

3: Bernal Villa SC15 Paez SC15

115

124

[For information on the informants and interpreters used by the author in collecting specific examples of mythological tales from the Parcialidad of Calderas, see category 116, pp. 10-32.]

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/289 cont./

142 The Calderuno /native of Calderas/ is rather tall, with a light copper skin, straight black hair, a straight nose somewhat flattened and broad at the base, slightly prominent cheekbones, dark brown eyes reminiscent of the Mongolian eye, a broad forehead, long and robust extremities, a slightly pentagonal face; many have mustaches, and, on the whole, the 157 features are rather /290/ handsome. On the other hand, he is talkative, communicative, deeply traditionalistic, proud [36] of himself, and has a deep love of the land. Isolated as they [177] are from the other parcialidades by natural accidents and far removed from the urban centers of Inzá and Belalcázar, they are shy, sullen, and withdrawn with the white, stubbornly opposed to contact with him, and, as a result their institutions have suffered less from the impact of cultural mestization. 797 Not even the very church that has worked so persistently for the 177 catechization of these tribes, especially in this century through the Lazarist missionaries active since 1905, has been able to penetrate fully into the soul of these people.

114, I have carried out my research in this parcialidad since 773 the month of August of last year, with several interruptions. [124] The myths and tales which I now present were gathered with patient labor after much waiting, for the natives, when questioned about these themes, nearly always reply with the word himeto ("I don't know"). There is no need to stress the importance of mythology as an institution in the so-called "primitive" cultures. Nor is it my intention to theorize on the subject. It is enough to say, in the words of Herskovits, that "mitología es como la carta constitucional de las creencias y presta sentido a la conducta ritual que se deriva de sus consagraciones /mythology is the constitutional charter of beliefs and gives meaning to the ritualistic behavior that is derived from its consecrations/" (1). The chroniclers tell

1. Herskovits, p. 409 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 309/.

/224 cont./

the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain medicines correspond to certain signs. The tẽ eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation. If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If, for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the tẽ eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify something bad, while those on the right indicate something good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/255 cont./

754 It is said that one who is to become a sorcerer does not need a teacher; he will discover the remedies and the evil spirits. Nevertheless, in the Parcialidad of Santa Rosa it is said that the most dangerous sorceress in the place teaches people how to do witchcraft.

*754 756 The tẽ eu can easily become sorcerers, if they show interest in becoming familiar with their remedies. A sorcerer can be a good curer and cure people, but nevertheless he will demand better provisions.

*754 [756] As a rule, it is unusual for a tẽ eu to be universally acknowledged as such, for many people, and the sorcerers among them, commonly designate them as nasa jihi (evil person).

[787] They may have the visions from a very early age, but the practice of sorcery begins in adulthood and is perfected with maturity. The sorcerers who are publicly acknowledged are about 35 years old, most of them being elders.

/256/ Sorcerers never show their remedies; much less is it possible to attend one of their sessions. This is a concealed activity. One knows who the sorcerers are by public identification. ●[124] All the information obtained about them is provided by the people and sometimes by the curer himself. Nevertheless, [56] none of them confesses practicing this activity; rather, on the contrary, they protest their innocence and claim to be the best persons in the community.

[623] [692] The remedies that the sorcerers possess are said to be well hidden, for if the cabildo were to find them, they would punish them irremediably.

[513] The sorcerers cast their spells at night. The natives say that they do not sleep. No sooner has night fallen than they are chewing coca and tobacco. They sleep during the day. They prefer the dark of night for performing their activities, although they do not have special days or specific hours.

The sorcerers do not introduce objects into the body (toads, hair, etc.), nor can they turn into animals.

/311 cont./

243 Wheat is cultivated with special emphasis in the areas of Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó. It is destined primarily for sale. It is planted along with maize, although there are already clearings intended exclusively for its cultiva-
[412] tion. They reap it with knives, rarely with sickles. They do not bind it into sheaves, but make bundles and hang it from the eaves or beams of the house. When dry, they thresh it with wooden clubs /masas/ and separate out its husks by exposing it to the
[256] wind. They grind it at once in hydraulic mills built by them themselves and take it to market. They have no sifters to separate the bran.

128 Below /see pp. 25-33 / we present a statistical table on
241 the production of the various species cultivated by 25 families
433 of Mosoco, 8 of Lame, and 15 of San Andrés including that of
[563] some mestizos and whites, marked with an asterisk, in order to make some comparisons and to estimate the volume of production. We specify the percentage of the production intended for sale. For obvious reasons, we have omitted the names of the family heads, identifying them solely by number in order. The statistical data correspond to the production in the year 1953.
[124] In spite of the fact that this type of investigation presents some
[123] difficulties, owing to the reluctance of people to reveal the data on their production they are in general completely trustworthy, since they were collected after a firm interpersonal relationship had been established between the investigator and the person investigated. In addition, they appreciably agree with our observations noted in "General observations" on Páez agriculture.

/312/ Potato cultivation in Mosoco

244 We have deliberately omitted anything about the cultivation of potatoes in order to deal with it more thoroughly.

The methods of cultivation differ somewhat from those commonly practiced in the other parcialidades. The soil is prepared in beds that follow the direction of the slope. The

/319/

412 435 563

LAME:

Fams.	Machetes		Shovels		Small Bars		Axes		Spades		Bars	
1.°	..	....	4	14,00	2	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
2.	1	12,00	4	20,00	1	6,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....
3.	2	9,00	2	8,00	1	3,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
4.°	2	16,00	2	14,00	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
5.	3	20,00	4	22,00	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
6.	2	14,00	2	8,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	3	20,00	4	16,00	4	28,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	22,00	2	10,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

SAN ANDRES:

1.°	6	24,00	8	28,00	3	12,00	..	....	..	....	3	15,00
2.	2	16,00	2	6,00	1	7,00	1	4,00	..	....	..	....
3.	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
4.	3	25,00	2	10,00	1	5,00	1	6,00	..	....	..	....
5.	2	14,00	4	22,00	1	6,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
6.	1	10,00	1	3,50	1	7,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
7.	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....	..	....
8.	3	11,00	3	9,00	1	5,00	1	4,50	..	....	..	....
9.	1	3,00	3	9,00	1	10,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
10.°	2	10,00	1	3,00	1	3,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
11.	3	24,00	4	14,00	3	10,50	2	12,00	..	....	..	....
12.	3	20,00	2	8,00	1	2,00	1	8,00	..	....	..	....
13.	3	15,00	1	3,00	..	....	1	3,00	..	....	..	....
14.°	3	19,50	6	21,00	3	15,00	..	....	..	....	..	....
15.°	4	20,00	5	12,50	1	5,00	..	....	..	....	..	....

/The commas in the figures are to be read as points in the translation to English./

Domestic animals

231 The Páez have bovine, equine, porcine, and wool-bearing livestock, turkeys, chickens, dogs, and cats. The guinea pig is the only American domestic animal that is raised in many homes.

231 ● 124 An accurate investigation of the livestock would present serious difficulties, in view of the suspicion of the natives. In the parcialidad of Calderas, information on the subject is almost invariably distorted, whether direct or indirect methods of investigation are employed. Acquiring data of this nature would be problematical even for the mestizo traders with a relatively high standing among the natives and very familiar with them. In our investigating zeal we visited almost all the households in this parcialidad, covering the entire territory on foot. In the shade of thickets, in the fields and pastures, a goodly number of bovines, equines, and wool-bearers are seen grazing. Once in a while one comes upon herds of swine feeding on grasses and roots. In the communal llano of Calderas /320/ about 36 head of cattle ordinarily graze. In all of these households

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
● 124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
[162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150 families. In the statistical table that we present below 55 families are represented, for many of which the data are incomplete and others have an approximate value, deduced from information by third parties and from direct observation. The statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
[311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes. They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, deflecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the special invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to

propose 'trades'.

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

8: Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

Bases for the Study of the Social Organization of the Páez

By
Segundo Bernal Villa.

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/167/ The material for the study of the kinship system of the Páez was collected in the month of May, 1953, thanks to the enthusiastic collaboration of Victoriano Piñakué, 18 years of age, bilingual, and a native of the parcialidad /a village and the lands belonging to it/ of Calderas. With this material we made an analysis of the kinship system, which we present below without any major modifications. It was later discussed with several native men of the parcialidad of San Andrés, who found it to be correct. At the end of May, 1954, we had the opportunity to discuss it again in Mosoco with two male informants of the locality. They found practically no phonological differences, in spite of the fact that the Páez spoken in that parcialidad showed some different nuances in relation to that spoken in the other parcialidades. They made only one fundamental observation, which we accepted, since we consider it to be convincing. It refers to the terms used to designate the sons and daughters of the brothers and sisters of EGO. According to Piñakué, they are designated with the Spanish terms: sobrino and sobrina /nephew and niece/. Jorge Mulcué (Mosqueño /a person from Mosoco/ 58 years old) affirmed that they are designated with the words kué or wásak (son and daughter) preceded by the possessive my (anji).

Men and women use the same terms for both the paternal and the maternal line, with certain exceptions, subordinating the real degree of kinship to the generation. The Páez system of kinship terminology is, therefore, classificatory and bilateral.